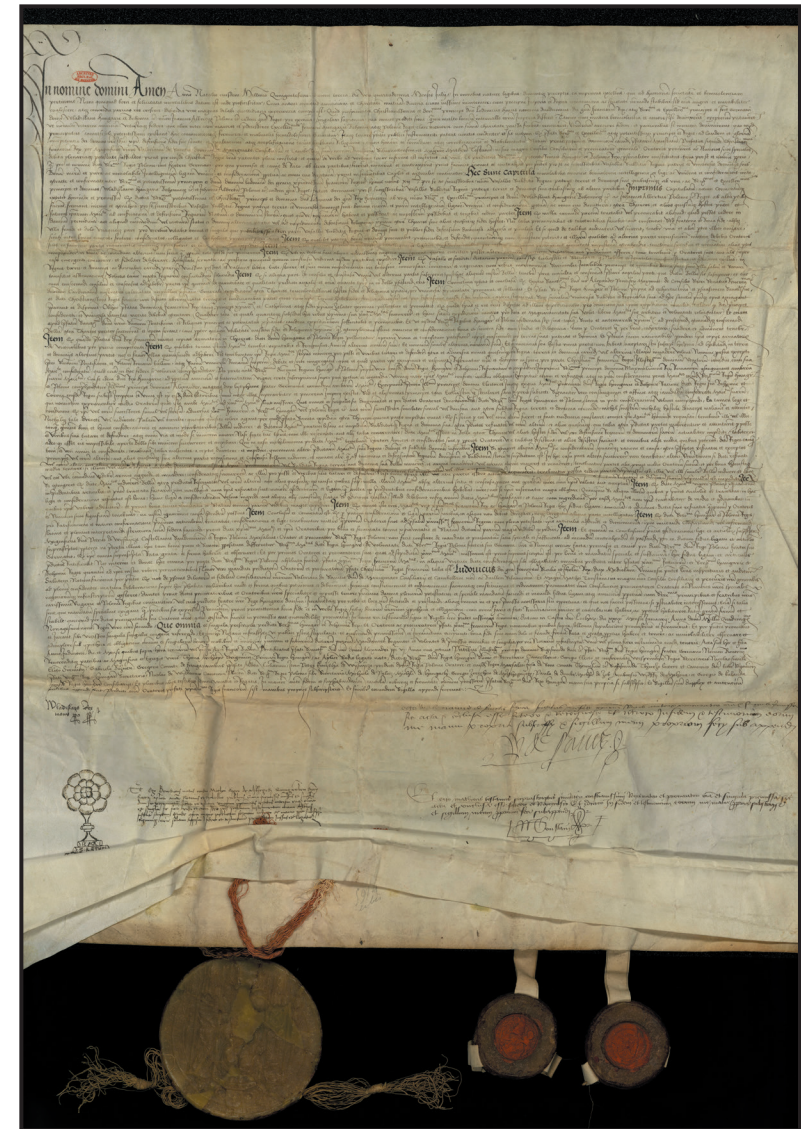




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THE JAGIELLONIANS IN EUROPE: DYNASTIC DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

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Debrecen
2016

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EDITED BY ATTILA BÁRÁNY,
IN CO-OPERATION WITH BALÁZS ANTAL BACSA

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Alliance treaty between France, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. Buda, 14 July 1500.

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FOREWORD

This volume is the proceedings of an international conference and workshop *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations / Die Jagiellonen in Europa: Dynastische und Diplomatische Beziehungen* held on 10-11 April 2015, organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen Hungary in Medieval Europe “Lendület” Research Group, at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, the University of Debrecen, Hungary.

The organizers aimed to give a broad, different approach, other than the usual national – for us, Hungarian – spectacle and view the dynasty in a European context, mainly concentrating on the European relations and view of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. Since our perspective is pre-1526, based on our Hungarian-centred researches, we mainly focussed on earlier periods, 15th and early 16th century.

Our aim was to organize a roundtable discussion as well, where the scholars of the different research centres throughout Europe could have an opportunity to have a discussion over the place and role of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the European constellation of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

We were honoured to welcome twenty speakers in six sessions from several countries – beyond the ones that had been under the rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty, i.e. Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Slovakia and Poland – from England, Germany and Romania. We were also pleased to welcome Dr. Paul Srodecki (Ostravská univerzita – Universität Giessen) as a guest speaker who launched the program with a key-note lecture (*Humanisten als Träger dynastischer Diplomatie an ostmitteleuropäischen Höfen des ausgehenden Mittelalters*).

The proceedings collect only a number of selected conference papers, nevertheless, beyond the authors of this volume, we welcomed speakers from several institutions and research centres from London to Zagreb (Royal Holloway University of London; University College London; Zemský archiv v Opavě, Opava and the Slezské zemské muzeum; University of Szeged; Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti). Beyond the scope of the articles, mostly investigating the fields of diplomacy, law, administration and representation, conference papers covered a much broader field ranging from matrimonial diplomacy, through the Habsburg attitude towards the dynasty and the treatment of the Ottoman threat to legal developments and political communication. The conference also had intriguing case studies on “individuals”, such as Prince Sigismund and the counts of Zrin/Zrinyi, while the ideological background of an ideal dynastic rule was seen in a tractate (*De institutione regii pueri*).

The event, as present volume is, was sponsored by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Office for Research Groups.

Nevertheless, the original idea for the workshop stemmed not only from our Debrecen research group. In July 2014 we organized a session (*The Jagellonian 'Empire' and European Diplomacy*) at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, where we came across with the colleagues of two research centres, that is, the European Research Council Research Group *The Jagiellonians: Dynasty, Memory & Identity in Central Europe*, Faculty of History, University of Oxford and the *Instytutu Historii i Archiwistyki*, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, in cooperation with the *Towarzystwo Naukowe*. There in Leeds, mainly through the intermediation of Dr. Piotr Oliński (Toruń) and Ilya Afanasyev (Oxford) we started a co-operation, first, upon the initiation of Dr. Oliński, leading to a joint enterprise of our Jagiellonian-related conference papers at the IMC, then, to organize a workshop. Since then we have been in a fruitful co-operation with these institutes.

In the Debrecen conference the research groups introduced themselves: a member of the Oxford Jagiellonians Project, Dr. Stanislava Kuzmová gave a presentation of their research program.

In 2015 our cooperation was followed at the International Medieval Congress, where the Debrecen and Toruń colleagues took part in the sessions organized by the Oxford Jagiellonian project (*Dynasticism in Medieval and Early Modern Europe and Beyond*). Two of the Debrecen research group members – Attila Györkös and myself – took also part with their papers at the Jagiellonians Project's conference in Somerville College, Oxford, in March 2016 (*Dynasty and Dynasticism (1400–1700)*). We also like to thank the Principal Researcher, Dr. Natalia Nowakowska for their help in our cooperation.

We also hope to follow up and strengthen the coordination of researches with this present volume.

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Ádám Novák

Additions to the itinerary and seals of King Władysław I of Hungary in the light of recent Hungarica research¹

Introduction

In July 17, 1440, in Székesfehérvár, Władysław III of Poland was crowned King of Hungary. He was the first Jagiellonian King of Hungary, but not the first who ruled both countries by personal union. In my paper I wish to provide some additions to the well-documented history of the short reign of King Władysław. The King's itinerary and seal usage had been compiled much earlier, however back then Ferenc Dőry,² Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz³ and Stanisław Sroka,⁴ who had no access to the Database of the archival sources of the Middle Ages in Hungary⁵. Moreover during my research as a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences - University of Debrecen 'Lendület- Hungary in the Medieval Europe' Research Group I discovered sources that can complement to what we already know about the itinerary and chancery of King Władysław.

I mainly rely on the collection of my research trip in Warsaw in the first week of December, 2014. My primary aim was to inspect the polysigillic diplomas of the *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie Zbiór Dokumentów pergaminowych*⁶ catalogue, but further on, I discovered historically important but not yet microfilmed charters. In my recent study I have focussed on the

¹ This article is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences - University of Debrecen 'Lendület' Research Group 'Hungary in Medieval Europe'.

² Ferenc DŐRY, 'I Ulászló magyar király pecsétjei' [The seals of Władysław I of Hungary], *Turul* 36 (1918–21), 32–3. [hereinafter: DŐRY 1918–21]

³ Lajos Bernát KUMOROVITZ, 'A magyar királyi egyszerű és titkospecsét használatának alakulása a középkorban' [The development of the simple and secret seal usage of Hungarian Kings in the Middle Ages], in Dávid ANGAL (ed.), *A Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet évkönyve*, Budapest 1937, pp.69–112. [hereinafter: KUMOROVITZ 1937]

⁴ Stanisław SROKA, 'I Ulászló itineráriuma (1440–1444)' [The itinerary of Władysław I of Hungary], *Történeti tanulmányok: a Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Történelmi Intézetének kiadványa* 4 (1995), 21–48. [hereinafter: SROKA 1995]

⁵ György RÁCZ (ed), *A középkori Magyarország digitális adatházisa* [Database of the archival sources of the middle ages in Hungary (DL–DF 4.2.) CD–ROM], Budapest 2003. Online from 2009: György RÁCZ, (ed), *Collectio Hungarica Diplomatica*. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>. *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár–Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény* [National Archive of Hungarian National Archives Diplomatic Archives – Diplomatic Photo Collection] [hereinafter: MNL OL DL–DF]

⁶ Hereinafter: AGAD, Dok. Perg.

diplomas issued by Władysław I as King of Hungary. Through my search for polysigillic diplomas issued between 1439 and 1457,⁷ in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* and in the *Arhiv Republike Slovenije* I found four diplomas sealed by King Władysław and his barons. At first, I am bringing forward the additions for the King's itinerary, and then describing and examining his seals.

History of Hungarica research

The importance of Hungarica was recognized as soon as the nineteenth century and by the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was working in an organized conditions. The milestones were the launch of a series of thematic source documents; and in the 1920s, the build-up of the institutional system of the *Collegium Hungaricum*. The Treaty of Trianon – among others – overwrote this research. The documents of the Upper-Hungarian cities and the well-guarded family archives became Hungarica materials too. By the development of new technological methods – microfilm was used. It made possible to record more archival material in a short time, in its investigate. Antal Fekete Nagy and Bálint Ila were the first to use this method in 1935, while researching the archives of the Szepes (Spiš) chapter, which was a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*) in the Middle Ages. From that point on the Hungarica research was carried out in shorter or longer research trips, using microfilm technique. Its complete process can be traced back through the papers of Iván Borsa and István Kollega Tarsoly published in the *Levéltári Szemle*.⁸ The result is publicized in the MNL OL DF database dreamed up by Borsa, and made by György Rácz.

Poland was the destination of Hungarian Hungarica researchers many times.⁹ They were made microfilm copies of the materials of the local archives, museums, and libraries too, which (the ones from the medieval era) became part of the MNL OL DF database. The most important part of this is the collection of parchment charters in the *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie*.

⁷ Ádám Novák, 'Egy kutatási program első eredményeinek bemutatása – Sokpecsétes oklevelek 1439 és 1457 között' [Presenting the first results of a research program – Polysigillic diplomas from 1439 to 1457], in Judit GÁL *et al.* (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales IV*, Budapest 2015, pp.199–212.

⁸ Iván BORSÁ, 'A magyar medievisztika forráskérdései' [The source related questions of Hungarian medievalistics], *Levéltári Közlemények* 44–45 (1974), 114.; Idem, 'A hungarikakutatás aktuális kérdései' [The relevant questions of Hungarica studies], *Levéltári Szemle* 36:2 (1986), 8–13.; István KOLLEGA TARSOLY, 'Levéltári hungarika kutatás' [Archival Hungarica research], *Levéltári Szemle* 42:2 (1992), 40–52. [hereinafter: KOLLEGA TARSOLY 1992]

⁹ For accounts see: Istvánné FÁBIÁN, 'Lengyel levéltárakban' [In Polish archives], *Levéltári Szemle* 20 (1970), 233–40.

The research of this was conducted by Péter Tóth in the 1980s.¹⁰ Through his selection 82 charters were filmed, which is newly researchable online in black and white microfilm.¹¹

During my stay in Warsaw I discovered that many charters related to Hungary escaped the attention of previous researchers. The reason for this is that the concept of the *Hungarica* was and still is unclear. István Kollega Tarsoly even cites the relating decree of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in his work.¹² However, these categories are quite vague and it is of times the researchers call to define something as “*Hungarica*”. The number of the relevant but missed charters, of course, is not too high. I found only 4 diplomas from the age of King Sigismund, which were not microfilmed.¹³ Three of these were included in the *Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár*.¹⁴ From its third volume, the editors used the manuscript of Elemér Mályusz, complete with the initially blue-labelled catalogue of the Diplomatic Archive and the Diplomatic Photo Collection and later on the MNL OL DL–DF database. The main principle of editing the subsequent volumes have been based on the latter,¹⁵ so the missing diploma – even if it had been already published – was not included in the *Oklevéltár*.¹⁶ Therefore, it is important to draw the attention of the researchers to unknown charters, so these could be included in the MNL OL DL–DF database.¹⁷

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences ‘*Lendület*’ research programs working with early modern sources pointed out that this may be the right form of a

¹⁰ Péter Tóth shared his experience with me personally. His statements, comments, and assistance in preparing this paper are gratefully acknowledged.

¹¹ MNL OL DL–DF database, accessed 15 September 2015.

¹² KOLLEGA TARSOLY 1992, 45–6.

¹³ 27 April 1410: AGAD, Dok. Perg. 36.; 21 June 1410: Ibid., 62.; 26 March 1412: Ibid., 67.; 19 March 1423: Ibid., 5565.

¹⁴ ZsO II. 7525, 7709.; ZsO III. 1902.

¹⁵ See the prefaces of ZsO III. and V.

¹⁶ *Monumenta mediæ ævi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia. Pomniki dziejowe wieków srednich do objaśnienia rzeczy polskich służące*. I–XIX, Cracoviae 1874–1927, XII. 127. reg. According to this it seems certain that King Sigismund waited for the King of Poland and his retinue in Ófalu since 19 March 1423.

¹⁷ For the importance of documenting unknown charters and the history of *Hungarica* research see: Richárd HORVÁTH, ‘Újonnan előkerült középkori oklevélszövegek a Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltárban’ [Recently discovered diploma texts from the Archive of Győr Bishopric], *Levéltári Szemle* 54:3 (2004), 3–13.

systematic source-surveying work.¹⁸ Our HAS–UD ‘Hungary in medieval Europe’ Lendület Research Group also hold it as a passable way. Therefore, we are trying to publish every result of the ‘Hungarica’ research we have carried out. For this, the best technical realization is a digitalized database accessible online, which now is in a beta testing phase. We hope that it will be available for the public in 2016.¹⁹ Its advantage of is that not only the texts and descriptions can be investigated, but the images of the charters and seals as well. As a part of the project, the Hungarian-related charters kept in Warsaw will also be published.

Additions to the itinerary of King Władysław I

A group of diplomas issued by King Władysław I found in the *Zbiór Dokumentów pergaminowych* amounts to 77 pieces. The contents of these are not related to Hungary, as in most cases they are addressed to Polish persons, arranging Polish matters, and the Polish royal seal hangs on them, however, it is indisputable that these documents were issued by the elected and crowned King of Hungary operating in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. I think this fact alone classify them as Hungarica material. They can be used directly in the preparation of the royal itinerary and in the study of seal usage. In the '80s Pál Engel pointed out that the Hungarian mediaeval studies has a shortcoming: the royal itineraries are either inaccurate or non-existent.²⁰ He puts together the itineraries of governor János Hunyadi, and Sigismund of Luxemburg, thereby recovering a huge gap. His work was followed up by Norbert C. Tóth with the itineraries of the Queens.²¹ Although Sroka's work was not yet made on the basis of the MNL OL DL–DF database, its source-base is extensive, leaves only small gaps. The thoroughness of his collection is confirmed by the fact that the database can complete it with only thirteen data. Another nine data came from foreign archives, mostly from the charters of Władysław which are kept in the aforementioned archive in Warsaw.

¹⁸ E.g. see the publication of the MTA–PPKE ‘Lendület – Church History’ Research Group: †József Lukcsics *et al.* (eds.), *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones.* (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I/9), Budapest/Roma 2014.

¹⁹ http://lendulet.memhung.unideb.hu:8080/momentum-web/Momentum_web.html

²⁰ Pál ENGEL, ‘Hunyadi János kormányzó itineráriuma (1446–1452)’ [The itinerary of Governor János Hunyadi], SZ 118: 5 (1984), 974–97.

²¹ Pál ENGEL and Norbert C. TÓTH, *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382–1438) Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam I: Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382–1437)*, Budapest 2005.

Sroka chose July 17, 1440 as the starting point of the King's itinerary, the date of his coronation in Székesfehérvár. The Warsaw-diplomas, the MNL OL-DL DF sources, and the data of the historian Jan Długosz make it possible to compile the itinerary of King Władysław from his election in Krakow up to his coronation in Székesfehérvár. As its starting date we choose the 8th of March, 1440 when in his charter confirmed by the seals of Polish magnates he accepts the conditions of the Hungarian ambassadors.²² However, it is interesting that in a diploma issued on March 2 he already calls himself elected King of Hungary. With regard to the authenticity of diplomas, there can be no doubt. In terms of its content – mortgage loan – it does not belong to those diplomas, which should be faked. In appearance it is also identical to other Polish chancery diplomas of the era. Although its seal is now lost, this fact cannot be decisive due to the dire fate of Polish charters. It can be concluded that the Hungarian ambassadors arriving to Krakow in the last week of February managed to convince the King about the acceptance of the Hungarian throne nearly a week earlier.²³ So the unanimous opinion of the contemporary sources and the modern literature, that is, to accept the Hungarian throne was a huge dilemma for the King and the Polish magnates, may be even more correct.²⁴

²² DL 39 291.

²³ One of the ambassadors, János Perényi, Master of the Treasury dates his diploma on the February 17 in Prešov (Eperjes). DF 213 043.

²⁴ Tamás PÁLOSFALVI, 'A Rozgonyiak és a polgárháború (1440–1444)' [The Rozgonyis and the civil war], SZ 137: 4 (2003), 897–928. [hereinafter: PÁLOSFALVI 2003]

The itinerary of Władysław I King elect from Kraków to Székesfehérvár

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 2 March 1440 | Kraków ²⁵ | 15 May 1440 | Eger ²⁶ |
| 4 March 1440 | Kraków ²⁷ | 19 May 1440 | Pest ²⁸ |
| 8 March 1440 | Kraków ²⁹ | 22 May 1440 | Buda ³⁰ |
| 17 March 1440 | Kraków ³¹ | 31 May 1440 | Buda ³² |
| 5 April 1440 | Kraków ³³ | 15 June 1440 | Buda ³⁴ |
| 9 April 1440 | Kraków ³⁵ | 17 June 1440 | Buda ³⁶ |
| 19–20 April 1440 | Sącz (Szandec) ³⁷ | 27 June 1440 | Buda ³⁸ |
| 25 April 1440 | Kežmarok (Késmárk) ³⁹ | 29 June 1440 | Buda ⁴⁰ |
| 27 April 1440 | Kežmarok (Késmárk) ⁴¹ | 1 July 1440 | Buda ⁴² |
| 4 May 1440 | Kežmarok (Késmárk) ⁴³ | 13 July 1440 | Buda ⁴⁴ |
| 5 May 1440 | Spišská Nová Ves (Igló) ⁴⁵ | 15 July 1440 | Buda ⁴⁶ |
| 9 May 1440 | Rozhanovce (Rozgony) ⁴⁷ | 17 July 1440 | Székesfehérvár ⁴⁸ |

²⁵ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 357.

²⁶ Sándor SZILÁGYI (ed.), *A magyar nemzet története*, Budapest 1894. IV., Book I, Chapter II. Based on Długosz. <http://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00893/html/> – last accessed 15 September 2015.

²⁷ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 378.

²⁸ PÁLOSFALVI 2003, 906. Based on Długosz.

²⁹ DL 39291.; DF 276 142.; Ibid., 288 388.

³⁰ PÁLOSFALVI 2003, 906. Based on Długosz.

³¹ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 6625.

³² Ibid., 4856.

³³ Ibid., 8499.

³⁴ DL 13 554.

³⁵ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 355, 4722.

³⁶ DL 13 555.

³⁷ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 7283, 452.

³⁸ DL 49 078.

³⁹ Ibid., 5107. Stanisław SROKA, *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier* [Polish documents from the archives of the Kingdom of Hungary], Kraków 1998–2000, 197.

⁴⁰ DL 44 295.

⁴¹ Ibid., 13 539.

⁴² Ibid., 59 262.

⁴³ DF 272 930.

⁴⁴ DL 65 537.

⁴⁵ DF 281 452., 281 474., 281 735.

⁴⁶ DL 80 727.

⁴⁷ PÁLOSFALVI 2003, 906. Based on Długosz.

⁴⁸ DF 289 009.

The King's itinerary after his coronation are supplemented by the following data:⁴⁹

Additions for the itinerary of King Władysław I

| | | | |
|------------------|--|-----------------|--|
| 8–9 January 1441 | Buda ⁵⁰ | 31 January 1443 | Buda ⁵¹ |
| 15 March 1441 | Márványkő ⁵² | 8 April 1443 | Buda ⁵³ |
| 21 March 1441 | Németi vár alatt ⁵⁴ | 25 May 1443 | Buda ⁵⁵ |
| 3 April 1441 | Szentmárton ⁵⁶ | 13 June 1443 | Buda ⁵⁷ |
| 12 April 1441 | Szombathely ⁵⁸ | 15 June 1443 | Buda ⁵⁹ |
| 8 Nov. 1441 | Csepel ⁶⁰ | 18 Oct. 1443 | Near Belgrad (Nándorfehérvár) ⁶¹ |
| 31 Dec. 1441 | Buda ⁶² | 19 Jan. 1444 | Sabar – Rácország ⁶³ |
| 28 Jan. 1442 | Between Trnava (Nagyszombat) and Bratislava (Pozsony) ⁶⁴ | 28 Jan. 1444 | Buda ⁶⁵ |
| 4 April 1442 | Trnava (Nagyszombat) ⁶⁶ | 23 June 1444 | Buda ⁶⁷ |
| 2 July 1442 | Buda ⁶⁸ | 8 July 1444 | Buda ⁶⁹ |
| 11 Oct. 1442 | Buda ⁷⁰ | | |

⁴⁹ My additions do not change the judgement of the events of the reign of King Władysław. However, the cumulative nature of historiography requires one to strive to be as comprehensible as possible and collect and arrange all known data.

⁵⁰ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4855.; 631.

⁵¹ Ibid., 424.

⁵² DL 13 612.

⁵³ Ibid., 47 696.

⁵⁴ DF 279 632.

⁵⁵ DL 44 346.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 92 916.

⁵⁷ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 6634.

⁵⁸ DF 293 348.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 275 714.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 286 209.

⁶¹ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4867.

⁶² DF 262 896.

⁶³ DL 44 357.

Seal usage of King Władysław

According to the literature and the known seal-material Władysław III of Poland used three different seals, and after his election for the Hungarian throne two others were added.

(0) In the literature appears a very similar seal to the next one, that is the Polish secret seal – it holds just a few differences from it. The escutcheon is round base, not heater, and the field lacks the floral ornament. Its minuscular inscription is:

*wladislavs•dei•gracia•rex•polonie•etcetera.⁷¹

After his election this seal disappears, so presumably it was replaced at the beginning of 1440 to the first seal.

(1) The Polish royal secret seal. He uses it till the end of his reign. Roughly 33 mms in diameter, the colour of the wax is red. An escutcheon is visible in its field, in its first and fourth quarters a Polish eagle is displayed, wings elevated; in the second and third quarters Lithuanian chevalier on horse. Literature presumes the Jagiellonian cross patriarchal on the shield of the chevalier. Above the escutcheon are floral ornaments. Its minuscular inscription is:

*wladislavs•dei•gracia•rex•polonie•etcetera.⁷²

This seal remains in use in the Polish secret chancery until the end of his life.

⁶⁴ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 428.

⁶⁵ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Galgóc Archive of the Erdődy family, 347. (Based on the abstracts of Béla Iványi)

⁶⁶ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4728.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 433.

⁶⁸ DF 269 991.

⁶⁹ DL 27 504.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 35 961.

⁷¹ From January 1440: AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4852.

http://www.agad.archiwa.gov.pl/prezentacje/pieczecie_krolewskie/4852.jpg – last accessed 15 September 2015. See: Marian GUMOWSKI, *Pieczęcie królów polskich*, Kraków 1919, p.17., no. 24. [hereinafter: GUMOWSKI 1919]

⁷² From 9 April 1440: AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4722.

http://www.agad.archiwa.gov.pl/prezentacje/pieczecie_krolewskie/4722.jpg – last accessed 15 September 2015. See: GUMOWSKI 1919, 17., no. 23,

(2) The next one is presumably his Polish royal middle – or bigger – seal. Its wax is red coloured, approximately 46mm in diameter. Armorial bearings are visible in its field as well, in the first and fourth quarters a Polish eagle is displayed, wings elevated, in the second quarter Lithuanian chevalier on horse, in the third quarter Moldavian bull's head. It is worth noting that a smaller shield is placed above the larger one. We can see a cross patriarchal appearing in it. But since the hill of three mounds is absent from the base, and concerning that Władysław had used this seal previous to his enthronement, we must assume it signifies the Jagiellonian cross patriarchal, not the Hungarian. The field is filled with rich floral ornament. Its minuscular inscription is:

S'wladislai'ter(tio)'dei'gra(cia)'reg(i)'polo(nie)'litw(anie)'p(ri)ncip'sup(?)
m'et'he(re)d(is)'russie'etcet(era).⁷³

Its use in the Polish Chancery remained demonstrably until October 1442.⁷⁴

(3) His first Hungarian royal seal appears at first after his enthronement in Székesfehérvár. Its wax is red, approximately 50mm in diameter. In its escutcheon is the first quarter the Árpád stripes, in the second Polish chevalier on horse, in the third Lithuanian chevalier on horse, in the fourth Hungarian cross patriarchal on hill of three mounds. Its minuscular inscription is:

S•wladislaus•dei•gracia•hungarie•polonie•dalmacie•croacie•(e)tc(etera)•rex.⁷⁵

Its last use is known from the July 23, 1444.⁷⁶

(4) The seal appearing in the September 19, 1444, can be visualized by the reconstruction drawing of Ferenc Dőry. The wax is also red coloured, approximately 57mm in diameter. Escutcheon party per pale, stripes of the Árpád and cross patriarchal on hill of three mounds. Its majuscular inscription is:

SIGILLUM:WLADISLAI:DEI:GRACIA:HUNGARIE:POLONIE:
DALMACIE:CROAC(ie):REX:(e)TC(etera).

⁷³ From 21 September 1440: AGAD, Dok. Perg. 3346.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/60/AGAD_Pieczec_Wladyslawa_III_Warnencyka.png – last accessed 15 September 2015. See: GUMOWSKI 1919, 17., no. 21.

⁷⁴ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 4862.

⁷⁵ From 1 September 1443: DL 88 185. See: Ferenc Dőry, 'Magyarország címerének kialakulása' [The evolution of the coat of arms of Hungary], *Turul* 35 (1917), 24.; Dőry 1918–21, 32. and KUMOROVITZ 1937, 108.

⁷⁶ DL 13 791.

Dőry, along with the literature, unequivocally sees the Hungarian cross patriarchal on the right side of the escutcheon. The presence of the hill of three mounds is undoubted, however I would not reject the possibility that it is being the mixture of the Jagiellonian and Hungarian charges, a hybrid.⁷⁷

(5) We should also mention the „great seal” of Polish King Władysław III, of which has only a single known copy.⁷⁸ The seal hangs on the polysigillic charters about the acceptance of the terms of the Hungarian Kingship must belong to King Władysław, since it hangs in the middle, in the most prestigious location. The red wax impression is approx. 53 mm in diameter. In the escutcheon’s dexter base point letter W, in honour a haloed figure with crosier, in his right a crowned man, in his left a woman. Its majuscular inscription is:

SIGILLUM•S•MARIE•DEI•ET•APOSTOLICE•SEDIS•GRATIA•
POLONIE•REGIS.⁷⁹

Change of seals or reform of the chancery?

From the itinerary of Sroka we know that until the July 23, 1444 we does not need any special research to determine King Władysław’s exact location using his charters.⁸⁰ But on August 1 of the same year, the King left Buda. From the work of Jan Długosz we know that the King was in Szeged, preparing for a war from which he never came back to Buda.⁸¹ From September 7, we regularly find charters issued in the name of the King, but dated in Buda.⁸² These are mostly involved in litigation, which means that the King formed his great chancery in the summer of 1444, and had made a new seal for it. Following Ferenc Dőry,⁸³ Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz⁸⁴ assumed that the seal change took place between

⁷⁷ DŐRY 1918–21, 32.

⁷⁸ DL 39 291.

⁷⁹ See: MNL OL Pecsétmásolat gyűjtemény [Seal copy collection] V8. 559.

⁸⁰ SROKA 1995, 40.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² DL 75 878.

⁸³ DŐRY 1918–21, 32.

⁸⁴ KUMOROVITZ 1937, 109.

July 23 and September 19, 1444. However, in my opinion, it is not only a change of the seal, but also the establishment of a new chancery.⁸⁵

The King demonstrably kept with himself the Polish royal secret chancery in the campaign, because his secret seal appears on several diplomas issued in Várad/Oradea.⁸⁶ For the journey of the Hungarian secret chancery is proved by five charters, which are kept in Romania today.⁸⁷ That is why, that publishing after the Paris (Trianon) Peace Treaty (1920), Kumorovitz and Dőry could not use them in their work, their existence is only discovered by archival research, as well as the Diplomatic Photo Collection of the MNL OL. Nowadays these diplomas can easily be found in the MNL OL-DL DF database. Until now, I received my requested photos of the diplomas and seals only from the *Direcția Județeană Brașov a Arhivelor Naționale*.⁸⁸ Based on this photo there can be no doubt that King Władysław took his old seal with him to the campaign. This means, that based on the success of his long campaign, and the results of the national assembly held in spring 1444, he successfully consolidated his power, and established a constantly working Hungarian greater chancellery in Buda, which gained a new – larger – seal. But for himself and for the Hungarian secret chancellery he kept the old seal, engraved after his coronation. The other four Romanian diplomas' seal-pictures can confirm this theory, however, in this study I cannot present them.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ All the more, because diplomas were issued with it even in 1445, after the death of King Władysław. See: DF 211 778.; Ibid., 222 208.; Ibid., 222 205.; DL 97 188.; DF 222 214.; DL 13 817.; DF 249 248.; Ibid., 249 249.; Ibid., 285 742.; DL 88 194.; Ibid., 90 975.; DF 200 456.; DL 74 081.; Ibid., 39 561.; DF 250 253.; DL 39 562.; Ibid., 80 829.; Ibid., 80 846.; Ibid., 13 835.; Ibid., 13 836.; Ibid., 65 889. It is important to note that the text of the diplomas cannot help in this question, we must confine ourselves to the examination of the seals.

⁸⁶ AGAD, Dok. Perg. 453, 447.

⁸⁷ DF 278 450.; 246 914., 281 161., 281 109., 280 991.

⁸⁸ Brașov County State Archive. DF 246 914. The slightly blurred but clearly identifiable third seal.

⁸⁹ I have already contacted the Cluj County State Archive and the Historical Museum in Bucharest, but I could not obtain the requested photos until the submission deadline.

Appendix

Polysigillic diplomas of King Władysław

This sigillographic research also shows the need for a comprehensive and complete seal index of the complete medieval diplomatic material. The framework of this study cannot include this, not even the seal index of King Władysław. Its reason is that the Diplomatic Photo Collection often leaves in doubt the mere existence of the seals, and we can very rarely obtain any information about their looks. However, my research dedicated to the so-called polysigillic diplomas covers the period of the reign of King Władysław, so it is in my intent to publish the description of the polysigillic diplomas kept in archives abroad, and in this way I would like to contribute for a future seal index of the King.

1⁹⁰

Date: 8 March 1440

Place: Kraków

MNL OL number: DL 39 291

Abstract: King Władysław with the consent of the magnates confirms King Albert's donations to his wife, Queen Elizabeth.

Description: Originally 25, now only 16 seals hang from parchment tags. In the middle the great seal of Władysław III, King of Poland, on its both sides seals of Polish magnates: on the left seven (one red and six green), on the right eight (three red, five green) seals. Their description is in the MNL OL DL–DF database.

2⁹¹

Date: 15 June 1440

Place: Buda

MNL OL number: DL 13 554

Abstract: King Władysław and his Polish and Hungarian supporters grant *salvus conductus* to the followers of László Garai, János Kórógyi and Queen Elizabeth.

Description: Originally 18, now only 15 seals (in a row) hang from parchment tags. In the middle (the ninth) Władysław III, King of Poland's greater seal, on the right Polish, on the left Hungarian magnates' seals. Out of the remaining

⁹⁰ Published in: SROKA 1995, 168.

⁹¹ Published in: Márton György KOVACHICH, *Supplementum ad Vestigia Comitiorum apud Hungaros: ab exordio regni eorum in Pannonia, usque hodiernum diem Celebratorum*, Buda 1798, I. p.492.

Hungarian seals two red wax seals belong to prelates, four green wax seals belong to barons. Their distance from the King's seal follows the order of their owner's dignity. We can assume that the lost seals belonged to László Pálóci seneschal (2nd) and János Marcali count (*comes*) of Somogy (3rd). The impressions are strongly blurred. Their description is in the MNL OL DL–DF database.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: János Ország (1st), János Perényi jr. (4th), Matkó Tallóci (5th), Jakab bishop of Szerém (Syrmia) (6th) Lőrinc Hédervári (7th), János bishop of Zengg/Senj (8th), King Władysław (9th) Polish magnates (10th–18th).

3.⁹²

Date: 17 April 1441

Place: Szombathely

MNL OL number: DF 287 160

Memoria Hungariae: MH 22001–22009.⁹³

Original number: Arhiv Republike Slovenije Sector for the protection of the oldest records no. 4996.

Abstract: The magnates consent that Władysław donates the bishopric of Zagreb to Péter Kottler.

Description: Originally 9, now only 7 seals hang (in a row) from written parchment tags. In the middle is the first secret seal of Władysław I, King of Hungary. On the left three red wax seals of prelates, on the right three green wax seals of barons. The seals of Imre Marcali (1st) and Simon Pálóci (8th) are lost. The seals are heavily damaged.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: Péter, bishop of Csanád/Cenad (2nd), János, bishop of Várad/Oradea (3rd), Simon, bishop of Eger (4th), King Władysław (5th), Miklós Újlaki (6th), Matkó Tallóci/Talovac (7th), Mihály Ország (9th).

4⁹⁴

Date: 18 April 1441

Place: near Szombathely

MNL OL number: DL 13 619

⁹² Published in: Vilmos FRANKÓI, *Oklevéltár a magyar királyi kegyuri jog történetéhez* [Diplomatic archive for the history of Hungarian Royal patronage], Budapest 1899, pp.20–1.

⁹³ „Magyarország a középkori Európában” c. adatbázis (verziószám: 2.1.2.1.) http://lendulet.memhung.unideb.hu:8080/momentum-web/Momentum_web.html – last accessed 11 May 2016.

⁹⁴ Published in: Norbert C. TÓTH, ‘Oklevelek Simontornya középkori történetéhez (1264–1543)’ [Diplomas for the medieval history of Simontornya], *Levéltári Közlemények* 71 (2000), 93–127. here 106–9.

ÁDÁM NOVÁK

Abstract: King Władysław donates the castle of Simontornya and its belonging estates to Simon Rozgonyi, bishop of Eger, supreme chancellor, for his and his brothers' services.

Description: Originally three seals were placed on the diploma, now all lost. The assumed order of the seals: in the middle (2nd) the Hungarian royal seal of King Władysław, on the left (1st) (based on its size) the green wax seal of Miklós Újlaki, voivode of Transylvania, on the right the green wax seal of master of the treasury Mihály Ország.

5

Date: 19 April 1441

Place: Szombathely

MNL OL number: DF 287 162 and DF 258 346

Memoria Hungariae: MH 22010–22020.

Original number: Arhiv Republike Slovenije Sector for the protection of the oldest records Nr. 4998.

Abstract: Diploma of King Władysław I and his magnates.

Description: The diploma included two times in the MNL OL DF database: there is a microfilm picture of the original charter taken in Vienna (DF 258 346.), and a later picture of a xerox copy (DF 287 162). Originally ten, now only nine seals (in a row) hang on parchment tags. In the middle (5th) the Hungarian royal seal of King Władysław I, on the left three red wax seals of prelates and a green wax seal of a baron. On the right four green wax seals of barons. We assume that the lost green wax seal (the 10th) belonged to Mihály Ország, master of the treasury. The seals are heavily blurred.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: Imre Marcali (1st), Péter, bishop of Csanád (2nd), János, bishop of Várad/Oradea (3rd), Simon, bishop of Eger (4th), King Władysław (5th), Miklós Újlaki (6th), Matkó Tallóci (7th), Simon Cudar (8th), Simon Pálóci (9th).

6⁹⁵

Date: 19 April 1441

Place: Szombathely

MNL OL number: DF 258 347 and DF 287 161

Original number: Arhiv Republike Slovenije Sector for the protection of the oldest records no. 4999.

Memoria Hungariae: MH 22021–22031.

⁹⁵ Published in: István KATONA, *Historia critica regnum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae, ex fide domesticorum et exterorum scriptorum concinnata*, Buda 1779–82, VI/XIII. pp.150–3.

Abstract: King Wladyslaw promises the transfer of some charters to Ulrich of Celje.

Description: The diploma included two times in the MNL OL DF database: there is a microfilm picture of the original charter taken in Vienna (DF 258 347.), and a later picture of a xerox copy (DF 287 161.). Originally ten, now only nine seals (in a row) hang on parchment tags. In the middle (5th) the Hungarian royal seal of King Wladyslaw I, on the left three red wax seals of prelates and a green wax seal of a baron. On the right four green wax seals of barons. We assume that the lost green wax seal (the 10th) belonged to Mihály Ország, master of the treasury. The seals are heavily blurred.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: Imre Marcali (1st) Péter, bishop of Csanád (2nd), János, bishop of Várad (3rd), Simon, bishop of Eger (4th), King Władysław (5th), Miklós Újlaki (6th), Matkó Tallóci (7th), Simon Cudar (8th), Simon Pálóci (9th).

796

Date: 16 August 1442

Place: Buda

MNL OL number: DF 258 234

Original number: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv AUR 1442 VIII 16.

Memoria Hungariae: MH 21061–22089.

Abstract: King Władysław and the Hungarian states grant *salvus conductus* to Queen Elizabeth.

Description: There are 32 cut marks on the diploma for the parchment tags, but in my opinion two of these, the 14th and the 22nd were not used. Now 29 seals hang on the charter, and a separated one (which was probably the 8th or the 32nd) is kept beside it. In the middle (21st) there are the Hungarian secret seal of King Władysław, on its both sides the seals of Polish and Hungarian prelates, barons and envoys in order of their dignity. Out of the intact seals three red wax seals belong to prelates (two Hungarian and one Polish) and one to a baron. The 1st and 39th are natural colour, the remaining 22 are green. Most of them are blurred and broken.

The seals of the Hungarian prelates and barons are the following: József, bishop of Bosnia (16th), János, bishop of Várad (19th), King Władysław (21st), Miklós Újlaki, voivode of Transylvania (24th), Matkó Tallóci, ban of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia (25th), László Pálóci seneschal (26th), István Bátori, former judge royal (27th), János Marcali count of Somogy (28th), László Losonci (29th).

⁹⁶ Published in: József TELEKI, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Oklevéltár* [The Age of the Hunyadis in Hungary], Pest 1853, X. pp.118–20.

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